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ON HORACE

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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ON THE INFLUENCE OF LUCRETIVS
ON HORACE

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

The purpose of this inquiry is the examination of Horace for evidence of Lucretian influence. In a general way it has been a commonplace of literary criticism that the one was indebted to the other, and the scholiasts and editors have cited many parallel passages. The editors of Lucretius have also pointed out in Horace similarity in thought and expression, and the subject has been treated in special monographs by Goebel, Reisacker and Weingärtner. Reisacker's program (Breslau, 1873) I have seen and have found in it little to my purpose. The other two (Goebel: *Horaz und Lukrez*, *Zeitschr. f. d. oesterr. Gymn.* 8 (1857), 421-427; Weingärtner: *De Horatio Lucretii imitatore*, Halle, 1874) I have not been able to procure, but from criticisms of them I fancy there is little in them for this special inquiry.

Sat. I. Beginning with the Satires, Horace's earliest work, and examining them in their present order without regard to the exact dates of their composition, I find in I 13 *cetera de genere hoc*, a Lucretian phrase occurring in 3, 481 and elsewhere. Then in 22 *praeterea* occurs as a word of transition that is frequent in Lucretius, and in 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima*, a reminiscence of *Lucr.* 1, 936 *sed*

¹ After this paper was written Weingärtner's dissertation was found in *Diss. Phil. Hal.* II, 1 sq. The canons adopted by him for determining influence appear to me to be too lax.

veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | eum dare conan-
tur prius oras pocula eireum | contingunt mellis dulci
flavoque liquore. Plato, *Laus* 659 e, says that the sick are
given wholesome food in pleasant meat and drink, but
Quintilian¹ quotes and comments on Lucretius; Jerome²
mentions the honey, and Ausonius³ the wormwood also;
Seneca⁴ the Elder mentions the wormwood only, and
Pliny⁵ the Younger reduces the allusion to unpleasant
food urged on with caressing tones. Later, Sir Philip
Sidney⁶ turns the wormwood into rhubarb and Tasso⁷ con-
tinues the tradition. Here I think is a genuine case of
literary influence from Lucretius down; so far as the evi-
dence shows.—28 vertit arato and Luer. 1, 211, vertentes
vomere have no connection.—50 quid referat intra | na-
turae fines viventi may be compared with Epicurus'
Κυρία Δόξαι 15 (Diog. Laert. X 144) ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦ-
τος καὶ ὄριστα καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν
εἰς ἀπειρον ἐκπίπτει.

Horace was not dependent entirely on Lucretius for
his knowledge of Epicureanism.—In 64 quatenus id
facit — Luer. 3, 424 quatenus est, cf. 218 and 2, 927; the
fact that Horace and Ovid follow L. in the causal use of
quatenus shows merely their agreement in a development
of the language.—In 68 Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia
captat | flumina — L. 3, 981 nec miser impendens mag-
num timet aere saxum, different forms of the myths are
used.—70 saccis | indormis inhians — L. 1, 36 inhians in te,
dea, visus is a mere agreement in the use of a word.—98 ne
se penuria victus — L. 5, 1007 penuria deinde cibi be-
longs to every day language.—117 fit ut raro qui se vixisse
beatum | dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita | cedat uti
conviva satur — L. 3, 938 cur non ut plenus vitae conviva

¹ 3, 1, 4.² In. Ruf I, § 463.³ Ep. 17.⁴ Suas. 6, 16.⁵ 1, 8, 12.⁶ Defense of Poetry, p. 23, ed. Cook.⁷ Ger. Lib. I, iii.

recedis, and 959 ante | quam satur ac plenus possis dis-
cedere rerum. The conception is traced back to Bion
through Teles to Ps-Aristotle, and to Job, and is paro-
died by Babrius. It occurs in Cicero and Plutarch, and
in La Fontaine and Chénier. It is formulated by Epi-
curus himself. Probably Horace got it from Epicurean
sources, perhaps from L. And finally, 121 verbum non
amplius addam — L. 3, 941 cur amplius addere quaeris,
is a mere coincidence.

- 2 In the second satire, verse 8 praeclaram ingrato strin-
gat malus ingluvie rem — L. 3, 1003 deinde animi ingratham
naturam pascere semper merely agree in sentiment.—32
sententia dia Catonis — L. 3, 371 Democriti — sancta sen-
tentia ponit may be paralleled from Lucilius, Tacitus and
Homer. It is a paraphrase that does not belong to any one
in particular.—57 (amator) qui patrium mimae donat
fundumque Laremque — L. 4, 1129 et bene parta patrum
fiunt anademata, mitrae agree in describing the extrava-
gance of the lover.—104 ante | quam — L. 3, 939 ante | quam
may be paralleled from *Aetna* and Manilius and occurs
but once in each of them. This may be a case where
Lucretius' metrical technique had some influence, for
there are undoubted imitations of L. in the *Aetna* and
in Manilius.—119 namque parabilem amo venerem facilem-
que — L. 4, 1071 volvivagaque vagus Venere ante recentia
cures is an agreement in a prescription.—133 denique as
the third member of a series is a common Lucretian occur-
rence, but who would say that it is solely Lucretian?

- 3 3, 14 toga, quae defendere frigus | quamvis crassa
queat — L. 5, 1429 dum plebeia tamen sit quae defendere
possit; here rhythm leads me to believe that there is
imitation.—26 cernis acutum. — L. 4, 802 acute | cernere is
a chance agreement. From 38 to 52 is the well known
passage where Horace describes the blindness of lovers
and parents in turning the very defects of their loved
ones into virtues. Lucretius has something similar of
lovers in 4, 1155-1169. Plato mentions the principle in
Rep. 474; Theocritus, Ovid, Martial, Molière allude to it.

Any one who has witnessed the phenomenon can bear testimony to its occurrence, and we shall not be justified in inferring imitation unless the phraseology leads in that direction. Delectant 40 agrees with in deliciis 1156. —45 male parvus—1162 parvula; there seems no other verbal agreement.—56 sincerum vas—6, 17 vitium vas efficere may possibly be influenced by L. on account of Epist. I 2 54. 66 communi sensu—L. 1, 422 communis sensus is an agreement in sound but not in sense. The sketch of human progress in 98-112 has much in common with L.—98 utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi is Epicurean and does not expressly occur in L. whose account agrees with that of Diodorus I 8. Diodorus says *Xpela*, usus, became man's teacher.—99 cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris—L. 5, 821 quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta | terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit | humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit.—100 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter—5, 939 glandiferas inter eurabant corpore quereus.—101 unguibus et pugnibus, dein fustibus, atque ita porro | pugnabant armis—5, 1283 arma antiqua manus unguis dentesque fuerunt | et lapides et item silvarum fragmina rami.—103 donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent, | nominaque invenerunt—5, 1057 si genus humanum, cui vox et lingua vigeret, pro vario sensu varia res voce notaret.—105 oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges—5, 1108 condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare.—108 ignotis perierunt mortibus illi—5, 326 eur supera bellum Thebanum etc.—109 venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum—5, 962 Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum.—110 viribus editior caedebat—5, 963 conciliatrix enim vel mutua quamque cupido | vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido.—111 iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necessest—5, 1144 iuraque constituere, 1151 metus maculat poenarum praemia vitae. Fateare necessest is a Lucretian formula and clinches the evidence that Horace was not only familiar with Epicurean doctrine but had read Lucretius' description.—112 tem-

pura si fastosque velis evolvere mundi—5, 1276 tempora rerum.

4 4, 76 locus -- conclusus—4, 458 conclusoque loco is a mere coincidence like avet 87, and also the syntax of 105 insuevit -- hoc me with Luer. 4, 1282 insuescat <te> degere and that of 106 vitiorum quaeque and Luer. 4, 1005 quaeque -- seminiorum.

5 In the fifth, line 73 vaga -- flamma—L. 6, 152 flamma vagetur is a mere chance agreement, but at the close of the satire, 101 namque deos didici securum agere aevum—L. 2, 646 omnis enim per se divom natura necessest | immortalis aevo summa cum pace fruatur etc., and L. 5, 82 nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom, is almost a quotation from L. The Lucretian passage occurs again in 6, 58, and Horace 102 nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id | tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto correspond in thought to L. 6, 50 cetera quae fieri in terris caeloque tuentur | mortales: they attribute their ignorance to the gods who, of course, can not be angry, but will bring about a disturbed mental state in man. Horace here is jesting and is speaking lightly of Epicurean principles.

6 In the sixth satire, line 3 olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint—L. 3, 1028 magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt, L. is undoubtedly following Ennius. Horace is, I think, following L. here. 18 longe longeque remotos—3, 69 longe longeque remosse is noteworthy. In the

8 eighth, line 10 commune sepulcrum corresponds to L. 5, 259 commune sepulcrum. The thought variously expressed is a trivial one. In 46 displosa sonat quantum vesica—L. 6, 129 vesicula -- saepe ita dat magnum sonitum is a chance agreement.—In the ninth satire, 24 quis membra movere | mollius—L. 4, 789 mollia membra movere is a reference to dancing merely.—34 simul atque adoleverit aetas—L. 3, 449 adolevit viribus aetas: here is

9 another national idiom.—In the tenth, 49 haerenti capiti cum multa laude coronam—L. 1, 929 meo capiti petere inde coronam is a commonplace.

Sat. II. In the second book of the satires, line 17 of the first satire has *Scipiadam*—L. 3, 1034 *Scipiadas*; this usage is conventional in the hexameter.—25 *accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis*—L. 4, 450 *bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis* is merely a physiological allusion.—52 *dente lupus, cornu taurus petit*—5, 1034 *cornua*—*illis iratus petit*. Here is agreement in a word for “butt.”—77 *inlidere dentem*—4, 1080 *dentis inlidunt* calls for no remark.

2 In the second satire 17 *cum sale panis|latrantem stomachum bene leniet*—2, 17 *nil aliud sibi naturam latrare*; the expressive metaphor was known to Homer and Ennius.—28, the hiatus *num adest*—3, 1082 *dum abest* shows metrical license and testifies to a certain agreement of Horace’s satirical hexameter with the didactic and undeveloped Lucretian.—83 *diem festum rediens advexerit annus*—1, 311 *multis solis redeuntibus annis*; the metaphor of the returning year is sufficiently trite.—88 *tarda senectus*—1, 414 *tarda*—*senectus*; this quality of age calls for little originality.—104 *cur improbe carae*—3, 1026 *fuit improbe rebus*. The convenient dactylic word in the fifth foot is found in Virgil and Persius also, and is without significance. The syntactical agreement in 105 *emetiris acervo*—2, 703 *egigni corpore* belongs to historical syntax.

3 In the third satire occur 49 *palantes error certo de tramite pellit*—2, 10 *errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae*, and 6, 27 *viam monstrant tramite parvo*. The way of life, from which the ignorant and the wicked stray, is a conception that arises from primitive theologizing and needs not to be referred to any particular writer. Yet the strange word *palantes* leads me to think that Horace had Lucretius in mind here.—95 *virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris|divitiis parent*—5, 1114 *aurum*—*quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem*. This melancholy truth of the supremacy of riches comes home to every one as it did to Horace and Lucretius. I do not know that H. is altogether indebted to

L. for seeing what all must have seen. But the reference to the beauty of riches is, I think, a reminiscence of Lucretius. The monosyllabic use of *quoad* in 91 may point also to L. who has it in 5, 1213 and elsewhere.—141 *splendida bilis*—L. 6, 1187 *splendidus humor* is a common medical allusion.—153 *ni cibus atque|ingens accedit stomacho futura ruenti*—L. 4, 867 *cibus ut suffulciat artus* is another.—191 *reducere*—1, 228 *reducat* merely shows that *re* could still be long in this compound.—193 *cur Ajax*—*putrescit*—3, 871 *aut putescat* is due to common mortality.—199 *tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam* etc. has no verbal connection with 1, 84-100. Horace could have learned the story of Iphigenia’s sacrifice from other sources, yet from the way it is used by him I think there is a Lucretian reminiscence. *Improbe* in 200 (L. 3, 1025) adds a little to cumulative evidence.—269 *fluitantia sorte labore*—3, 1052 *fluitans errore vagaris* is an agreement in a common metaphor.—283 *surpate*—2, 314 *surpere* is an inelegant syncopation which survived from earlier Latin.

4 In 4, 90 *memori*—*pectore*—L. 2, 582 *memori mente* there is an agreement in the use of a metrical substitute for *memoria*.—In 94 *fontes ut adire remotos|atque haurire queam* is a parody on L. 1, 928 *integros accedere fontis|atque haurire*. This sentiment of L. had many admirers.

6 In 6, 1 *modus agri non ita magnus*—L. 2, 1172 *agri multo modus* is a chance agreement.—59 *perditur* has caused more discussion than L. 2, 831 *disperditur*. Both are reflections of homely usage.—61 *nunc somno et inertibus horis|ducere sollicitae iucunda obliviae vitae*—3, 1066 in *somnum gravis atque obliviae quaerit* there is only a metrical agreement in the use of *obliviae*. 101 *ponit*—*vestigia*—3, 4 *pono*—*vestigia* is a common locution.

7 In 7, 28 *Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem*—3, 1063 *currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter*—*properans urbem petit atque revisit* may be paralleled from other moralizing. The discontent is human.—49

turgentis verbera caudae—4, 1034 turgida semine multo is a physiological agreement.—In 81 the metrical imperitas again occurs.—90 foribusque repulsum | perfundit—4, 1177 exclusus amator: the thought is trite.—In 105 enim in the third place, as in L. 1, 680, may be paralleled from Cicero also.

- 8 In 8, 51 inulas--amaras—2, 430 inulae there is merely a mention of a bitter herb.—75 tibi di--commoda dent—3, 2 commoda vitae: commoda was common in the popular philosophy (Reid on Cic. *Acad.* 2, 231).

Sat. in general. My general conclusion from the Satires is (a) Horace was an Epicurean at that stage of his development; (b) he was familiar with Epicurean principles some of which he had gained from Lucretius¹; (c) there is direct imitation of Lucretius in his work; (d) there is a metrical influence also from Lucretius; (e) there are so many places where Horace and Lucretius agree in small matters that are also found in other authors, that the cumulative effect on the reader is Lucretian.

Epodes. I now pass to the Epodes.

- 2 In the second epode line 7 superba civium | potentiorum limina—L. 2, 50; 3, 1027 rerumque potentes is a chance agreement.—13 falce ramos amputans—5, 936 decidere falcibu' ramos is an agricultural allusion.—23 libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, | modo in tenaci gramine—L. 2, 29 prostrati in gramine molli is a picnic agreement, so to say.—41 perusta solibus—5, 251 perusta | solibus seems idiomatic, as also 46 distenta siccet ubera—1, 259 uberibus-distentis.—4, 14 et Appiam mannis terit—3, 1063 currit agens mannos: the word mannus is not found before L.; probably these ponies were imported about his time.—6, 6 amica vis pastoribus—6, 1222 fida canum vis: I think that neither Horace nor Lucretius was indebted to Theocritus (5, 106) unless Theocritus first introduced dogs into Italy. The paraphrase with vis is very common in L. but not unknown

¹ Usener, *Epicurea*, Index s. v. *Horatius*, shows that Horace had other sources than Lucretius for Epicurean doctrine.

- 9 before and after him.—9, 1 has repostum, an agreement with the old epic style that permitted this synecopation.—20 citae—4, 576 voce ciemus is an agreement in the use of a word in a meaning later uncommon.—11, 2 amore percussus gravi—1, 923 percussit thyrsos--et incussit--amorem: this seems idiomatic, as Bentley shows in his note.—13, 14 Scamandri flumina—6, 1114 flumina Nili: flumina is a convenient dactyl for the fifth foot and the use of the plural had become a poetic license that H. thought permissible here as elsewhere in other metres.—14, 13 non pulchrior ignis | accendit obsessam Ilion—1, 474 ignis--clara accendisset--certamen belli: ignis of love is common enough.—16, 31 tigres subsidere cervis—4, 1198 equae maribus subsidere possunt: this use of subsidere is very rare; it was probably a veterinary term.—48 levis crepante lymphā desilit pede—5, 272 liquido pede detulit undas: this seems a bold reminiscence of L.—54 aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus—5, 256 imbribus et ripas radentia flumina rodunt: the proximity of the two passages in both H. and L. leads me to the conclusion that there is also Lucretian influence here.—In 17, 66 the reference to Tantalus is not significant.

Epodes in general. In general, for the Epodes I find in only one of them any real evidence of Lucretian influence, namely in the 16th, one of the earliest written and contemporary with the earliest satires.

Carmina I. I now pass to the Odes. The first parallel is I, 1, 20

- 1 et praesidium et dulce deus meum—2, 643 virtute velint patriam defendere terram and 3, 897 non poteris factis florentibus esse, tuisque | praesidium. Here there is nothing common except the thought which is sufficiently trite, as is 27 catulis fidelibus—5, 864 canum fido cum pectore corda.—2, 9 the prodigy piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo—3, 785 pisces vivere in arvis have no connection.—3, 22 Oceano dissociabili—5, 203 mare quod late terrarum distinet oras: this notion of the estranging ocean seems Lucretian. The plural vada in 24—1, 200 is without significance.—In 30 nova febrium | terris incubuit

cohors — 6, 1143 incubit < morbus > tandem populo Pandionis omni, the verb and the metaphor are too common to admit of imitation.—In the fourth ode the mention of Favonius — 1, 11, is unimportant, and in 7 iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna — 5, 737 it ver et Venus, etc., have nothing in common but Venus' coming.—In the seventh ode, line 7 undique decerpam fronti praeponere olivam — 1, 928 novos decerpere flores have little in common; and 15 obseuro deterget nubila caelo — 4, 378 nigrasque sibi abluit umbras is no more significant.—16 parturit imbres — 6, 259 gravidam tempestatem atque procellis have a common metaphor.—In the 8th, line 10 gestat armis | bracchia — 3, 1049 geris cassa formidine mentem, the verbs are synonyms of habere, an idiomatic use.—14, lacrimosa Troiae | funera — 5, 326 funera Troiae is trivial. In the 11th, verse 2 nec Babylonios | temptaris numeros — 5, 727 ut Babylonica Chaldaeum doctrina belong to the common consciousness.—5, oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare — 1, 326 vesco sale saxa peresa and 1, 305 fluctifrago — in litore can have no relation of influence. Line 7 fugerit invida | aetas — 3, 915 iam fuerit is an agreement in the use of a tense.

12 In the 12th occurs the Latin word for echo — line 3 recinit iocosa | nomen imago — 4, 571 imagine verbi.—In the 13th, line 12, inpressit memorem dente labris notam — 4, 1109 inspirant pressantes dentibus ora may be paralleled from the erotic poets.—In 16, 8 geminant Corybantes aera — 2, 636 pulsarent aeribus aera is merely a reference to the ceremonies in honor of the Magna Mater. In 22, 17 pigris -- campis — 5, 746 pigrumque rigorem, and 21 sub curru nimium propinqui | solis in terra domibus negata — 5, 204 fervidus ardor | assiduusque geli casus mortalibus aufert are mere commonplaces.—In 24, 2 lugubres -- cantus — 4, 548 lugubri voce querelam have no significance.

26 In 26, 2 protervis -- ventis — 6, 111 petulantibus auris have no connection; and 6 fontibus integris — 1, 927

28 integros -- fontis is not traced to any source earlier than L. Probably there is Lucretian influence here, and the thought occurs repeatedly in later writers.—In 28, 2 mensorem cohibent — 2, 1031 quaeque in se cohibet: this use of cohibeo is found in Cicero as well as elsewhere in Lucretius and Horace. Line 5 aérias temptasse domos animoque rotundum | percurrisse polum morituro — 174 omne immensum peragravit mente animoque: here is a distinct reminiscence.—7 occidit et Pelopis genitor — 3, 1027 reges rerumque potentes | occiderunt is probably a reminiscence of L. as well of the stock consolations.—16 via leti — 2, 918 leti -- vias is noteworthy.—18 avidum mare — 1, 1031 use of an epitheton otiosum.—19 densentur funera — 3, 71 caedem caede accumulantes and denseri 1, 656 etc.: a Lucretian word. There is much in this puzzling ode that sets it apart from the others; its date is unknown but it must be one of his earliest poems, hence the agreement with L. is not strange. I have no doubt that there was Lucretian influence on the ode.

31 In 31, 8 mordet -- amnis — 5, 256 flumina rodunt is conventional.—34 is interesting as a palinode. Verse 2 insanientis dum sapientiae — 5, 10 nunc appellatur sapientia; 5 Diespiter, | igni corusco nubila dividens | plerumque, per purum tonantes | egit equos — 6, 247 nam caelo nulla sereno -- mittuntur < fulmina >, and 6, 400 cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro, also 12 valet ima summis | mutare et insignem attenuat deus, | obscura promens, commonplace though it is, agrees with 5, 1127 fulmine summa vaporant | plerumque. It is natural that in withdrawing from Epicureanism there should be reminiscences from his old authorities for that insaniens sapientia.

Carm. II. In the second book of the Odes, in the 17th line of the first ode—minaci murmure cornuum — 1, 276 minaci murmure ventus is a mere agreement in onomatopoeia; and 30 inopia proelia — 5, 381 pio nequiquam-bello has no significance.—In the third ode which is Epicurean throughout, in the first line aequam -- mentem corre-

- sponds to aequo animo 5, 1119; and in 12 the invitation to the picnic is something like 2, 30 sq. In this ode it is remarkable how far Horace differs from Lucretius in describing Epicurean ideals.—In the sixth, line 14 angulus ridet—1, 8 rident aequora is a chance agreement in the use of a word; and 21 beatae postulant arces—2, 8 sapientum templa serena I should not press.—In 7, 18 fessum militia latus | depone—1, 257 fessae pecudes pingui—corpora deponunt is a commonplace; and 8, 10 taciturna noctis | signa—4, 460 severa silentia noctis is another.—In 9, 3 vexant—procellae—1, 275 venti vis—vexat is idiomatic.—In 10, 9 saepius ventis agitur ingens | pinus et celsae graviore casu | fulgura montes—5, 1127 quoniam ceu fulmine summa vaporant, 6, 421 altaque cur plerumque petit loca; a commonplace which was proverbial.—Line 18 tacentem | suscitatur musam—2, 413 musaeae mele—expergefacta figurant may go back to a common source but have no mutual connection.—In 11, 13 cur non sub alta vel platano vel haec | pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa—2, 30 sq. have only the picnic motif in common.—In 13, 13 quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis | cautum est in horas—3, 1085 posteraque in dubios fortunam quam vehat aetas is a commonplace.—In 15, 11 sive reges | sive inopes erimus coloni—3, 1035 ossa dabit terrae proinde ac famuli infimus esset; 15 per autumnos nocentem | corporibus metuemus Austrum—5, 220 cur anni tempora morbos apportant; 18 Coeetus errans et Danae genus—Sisyphus—3, 992 Tityos-Sisyphus etc.; 21 linquenda tellus et domus et placens | uxor—3, 894 non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor | optima,—these are all commonplaces.—In 16, 2 prensus Aegaeo—6, 429 deprensa—navigia probably belong to the language of the sea.—Line 9 non enim gazae—2, 37 nil nostro in corpore gazae, both with reference to dislodging mental terrors, is a reminiscence of Epicurean doctrine.—13 vivitur parvo bene—5, 1118 divitiae grandes—sunt vivere parce; 17 quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo | multa—3, 62 noctes atque dies niti praestante labore; 19 patriae quis exul | se quoque

fugit—3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est; 22 cura nec turmas equitum relinquit—2, 49 nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela. In this Epicurean ode the agreement with Lucretian doctrine is so striking that a direct influence is probable. The ode is also one of the earliest in time.

- 18 The beginning of 18-non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar—2, 27 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet have no immediate connection; the thought is a commonplace and renideo is frequent.—In 20, 21 absint inani funere naeniae—3, 955 compesce querelas are mutually interpretative.

Carm. III. In the first ode of Book III, line 10 hic generosior

- 1 | descendat in Campum petitor—2, 11 contendere nobilitate is a mere reference to the advantage of noble birth; and 41 quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis | nec purpurarum—delenit usus—2, 34 nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres, | textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
2 | iactis is another commonplace, as is 2, 29 saepe Diespiter | neglectus incesto addidit integrum—2, 1104 exanimat indignos inque merentis.—In 3, 49 aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm—5, 1113 aurumque repertum has no significance.—In 11, 19 spiritus taeter—3, 581 taetro odore, there is doubt about the genuineness of the Horatian passage. In 17, 12 aquae nisi fallit augur | annosa cornix and 27, 10 imbrium divina avis imminutum—5, 1084 cornicem ut saecula vetusta | corvorumque greges ubi aquam dicuntur are merely proverbial.—In 28, 4 munitae—sapientiae reminds one of 2, 7 munitae—sapientum templa and is probably a reminiscence of that famous prooemium, here jestingly alluded to.

Carm. I-III in general.

In the first three books of the Odes Horace is in the maturity of his powers as a lyric poet, and has attained to independence of thought and expression, while at the same time he is free from the tradition of the dactylic hexameter; hence it is no surprise to find so little that can be said confidently to betray Lucretian influence. Add

also that he was following Greek models at this time, and it is not to be wondered at that the only odes where one may state with confidence Lucretian influence are for Book I, the 26th, 28th and 34th; for Book II the 16th; and for Book III the 28th. These are all exceptional for one reason or another, and both Epicurean and Lucretian influence at that stage of his development were at their lowest point.

Epistles I. Next in time, roughly speaking, comes the first book of the Epistles, and the first one was probably composed last of all.

In the 42d line is *vides, quae maxima credis | esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam, | quanto devites animi capitisque labore* — 3, 65 *turpis enim ferme contemptus et acris egestas-quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante*; these Roman evils are dwelt upon by Lucretius with such force that undoubtedly Horace has him in mind. — In 52 *vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum* — 5, 1113 *aurumque repertum, quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem* there is again agreement; and in 65 *isne tibi melius suadet, qui rem facias, rem* — 5, 1113 *posterius res inventast* is also reminiscent. — In 82 *idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes*, with what follows, does not differ in thought from 3, 1058 *quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper | commutare locum*, etc. This introductory epistle was composed when Lucretian influence over Horace had revived, and when also his philosophical opinion was returning to its early position; at a time when, in spite of his protestation of liberty in verse 13, he says *nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor*. — In the second epistle, line 31 *ad strepitum citharae* — 4, 582 *quorum (faunorum) -- strepitu* is noticeable, as L. seems to be the first to use *strepitus* of a musical sound; and Horace has it also in C. 4, 3, 18 and Ep. 1, 14, 26. — 40 *sapere aude; | incipe* — 3, 1071 *iam rebus quisque relictis | naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum* are the same injunctions practically; and 47 *non aeris acervus et auri | aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres* — 2, 34 *nec*

calidae citius decedunt corpore febres is similar. — 54 *sincerum nisi vas quodcumque infundis acescit* — 6, 17 *intellegit ibi vitium vas efficere ipsum | omniaque illius vicio corrumpier intus*. This simile is ultimately Platonic, but had become trite. — 56 *certum voto pete finem* — 6, 25 *finem statuit cuppedinis* would seem to show reminiscence. — In 3, 19 *grex avium* — 5, 1085 *corvorum greges* is not significant. — In 4, 16 *cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum* is noteworthy as a jesting sign of the poet's return to his earlier philosophy and to Lucretius.

In 6, 1 *nil admirari* — 5, 83 *si tamen interea mirantur* is pure Epicurean. — In 3 *hunc solem et stellas*, etc., correspond in thought to 5, 1204 *nam cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi*, etc. — 4, *formidine nulla* — 5, 1218 *formidine divom*; 11 *improvisa species exterret utrumque* — 2, 1040 *novitate exterritus ipsa*. — 24 *quidquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas* — 3, 847 *si materiem nostram collegerit aetas agree* in the use of *aetas*, as also 5, 1454 *sic unumquicquid paulatim protrahit aetas | in medium*. — 27 *ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus* — 3, 1025 *lumina sis oculis etiam bonu' Ancus reliquit* is proverbial from Ennius. The same thought occurs in C. 4, 7, 14, one of the later odes.

In 7, 8 *opella* — 1, 1114 *opella*, the form is quoted only once from Lucretius and Horace; and 24 *dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis* — 5, 1 *quis potis est dignum -- carmen | condere pro rerum maiestate*; 76 *manis arvum caelumque Sabinum* — 3, 1063 *currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter*; 84 *vineta crepat mera* — 2, 1170 *et crepat* are agreements in vocabulary. In this epistle is latent Lucretian influence. — In 8, 12 *Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Roman* is another form of the oft repeated thought of 3, 1060 sq. — In 10, 7 *musco circumlita saxa nemusque* — 5, 951 *saxa, super viridi stillantia musco* would not be significant except for the rarity of the word *musco*. — In 11, 10 *Neptunum procul e terra spectare furem* — 2, 1 *suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, | e terra magnum alterius*

spectare laborem; the thought may have been familiar to Sophocles and Menander, but Horace probably got it from Lucretius since 21 sq. is Epicurean, particularly 27 caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt — 3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est, etc., and 29 quod petis, hic est, | est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus — 3, 939, 962, etc., aequo animo.

- 12 12, 2 non est ut copia maior -- possit — 5, 979 non erat ut -- posset is an agreement in a Grecism which L. has more than once. — 13 dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox of Democritus — 172 vivida vis animi -- omne immensum peragravit moenia mundi of Epicurus. — 15 sublimia cures — 1, 127 superis de rebus habenda. — 16 quae mare compescant causae, a matter discussed by L. in 6, 608.
- 14 14, 8 istuc mens animusque fert et amat -- rumpere claustra — 2, 264 prorumpere -- quam mens avet ipsa. — 12 stultus uterque locum inneritum causatur inique is the oft repeated thought of 3, 1059; and 13 animus, qui se non effugit umquam, of 3, 1068; and 14 tacita prece rura petebas, | nunc urbem-optas, of 3, 1067. — 22 inveniunt -- desiderium — 1, 19 inveniunt-amorem; and 26 strepitum, are Lucretian. — 35 cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba — 2, 30 propter aquae rivum, etc., which has been compared before. This epistle was unquestionably written under Epicurean and Lucretian influence. — 18, 9 virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum — 5, 839 inter-trasque nec utrum, utrimque remotum seem to have a metrical likeness. — 71 emissum-verbum — 5, 1044 sonitus emittere linguae seems idiomatic. — 108 quod superest aevi — 3, 904 aevi | quod superest, 5, 206 quod superest arvi: here there may be Lucretian influence as the genitive with quod superest is not common, and the phrase comes later in Ovid and Silius.

- 19 In 19, 21 libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, | non aliena meo pressa pede — 3, 4 pono. vestigia (cf. Sat. 2, 6, 101) — 1, 926 peragro loca nullius ante, trita solo. This seems to be an imitation, and 44 poetica

mella — 1, 947 musaeo melle is also probably reminiscence, even if the source is ultimately Greek, as the adjectives imply.

Epistles I, in general. In seven of the twenty epistles of Book I there is, then, Lucretian influence, and throughout the book the poet's attitude to Epicureanism is friendly.

Carm. Saec. In the Carmen Saeculare there is nothing noteworthy.

Epist. II. In the second book of the Epistles, 1, 8 agros adsignant — 5, 1110 agros divisere is without significance. — 11 notaque fatali portenta labore subegit — 5, 37 sunt portenta perempta have Hercules in common merely; and 13 urit enim fulgore suo — 4, 304 (329) splendor -- acer adurit is not remarkable. — 102 hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi — 5, 1230 ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas is a chance agreement of words.

- 2 In Ep. 2, 32 clarus ob id — 1, 639 clarus ob obscuram: in spite of Lachmann's dictum that Horace got this from Lucretius I prefer to wait until the *Thesaurus* reaches *ob* before admitting the indebtedness. — In 58 mirantur amantque — 1, 641 admirantur amantque seems unimportant. — 125 Cyclopa movetur — 3, 569 moventur -- motus; 135 rupem et puteum vitare patentem — 4, 509 praecipitesque locos vitare; 138 redit ad sese — 4, 1023 ad se redeunt, — all fail to show any filiation. — 151 proficiente nihil curarier — 2, 39 gazae | proficiunt is an agreement in vocabulary merely. — 159 mancipat usus, 175 perpetuus nulli datur usus — 3, 971 vitaeque mancipio nulli datur omnibus usu are commonplaces. — 207 caret mortis formidine et ira — 3, 1045 indignabere obire: here Horace unquestionably has Epicurean doctrine in mind, yet I doubt if the Lucretian passage influenced him. — 213 vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis — 3, 938 cur non -- ut conviva recedis, 962 † magnis concede: necessesest is also Epicurean.

Epist. II, in general. In the second book of the Epistles there is strong Epicurean influence and some agreement in expression with Lucretius, yet I do not find any real evidence of Lucretian tradition.

Carmina IV. In the fourth book of Odes the 3rd ode has three cases of verbal agreement: 4 clarabit pugilem—3, 36 claranda: 18 strepitum—4, 582 strepitu; and 22 praetereuntium—1, 318 praeterque meantum.—In 4, lines 13, 24, 63—1, 14; 5, 409; 1, 8 seem to be mere verbal agreements.—5, 29 condit quisque diem—3, 1090 condere saecula is idiomatic.—In 7, 9 frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas, interitura, simul pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et nox bruma recurrit iners—5, 737 it ver et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter, etc., have a similarity in thought, but not much of expression; as is also the case with 14 nos, ubi decidimus quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus dives, et Ancus, pulvis et umbra sumus—3, 1025 lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Aneu' reliquit. Probably this ode would have been written in much the same form if there had never been a Lucretius.

9 In 9, 5 si priores Maeonius tenet sedes Homerus—3, 1037 Homerus sceptrum potitus, and 25 vixere fortes ante Agamemnona—carent quia vate sacro—5, 326 cur supera bellum Thebanum et funera Troiae non-ecineret poetae? This ode is one of the latest and ripest and, although the thought has much in common with Epicureanism and with Lucretius, yet it seems to me that Horace is independent in his treatment.

11 In 11, 6 ridet argento domus—3, 21 aether—ridet; 11 flammae trepidant rotantes—6, 202 rotantque flammam are both without significance, as is also 13, 20 surperat—2, 314 surpere, and 14, 6 inlustrant oras—3, 2 inlustrans commoda vitae.—28 minitatur agris—5, 386 amnes-minantur omnia diluviare are both commonplaces; see Bentley *ad. loc.* for the latter.

Carmina IV, in general. In the fourth book of the Odes I find no evidence of Lucretian influence. Horace had attained his majority, and even if all the odes of this book are not his latest productions, yet taken as a whole, the odes of the last book show little indebtedness to any definite predecessor: the 10th (O crudelis adhuc) is of course an exception and is

probably an early study, and I would not except the Melpomene ode, the 3rd.

Ars Poetica. Finally there remains the *Ars Poetica*. 49 indicia monstrare recentibus abdita rerum—1, 138 multa novis verbis cum sit agendum is a reminiscence.—61 prima cadunt—4, 376 primaque dispereunt has no significance.—70 cecidere cadentque—3, 969 can not be pressed.—111 interprete lingua—6, 1149 interpres—lingua is a coincidence, and may be paralleled in thought from Cicero.—173 laudator temporis acti se puero—2, 1167 laudat fortunas saepe parentis is a commonplace.—359 dormitat Homerus—3, 1037 Homerus sopitu' quietest have no connection.—393 rabidos leones—4, 712 rabidi leones is an agreement in a standing epithet. Finally 467 idem facit occidenti—3, 1038 eadem aliis—quiete is a syntactical agreement.

Ars Poetica, in general. There seems, then, to be but one conscious reminiscence in the *Ars Poetica*.

General Conclusions. The final results of this examination may be summarized as follows: in early life when Horace wrote his Satires, Lucretian influence was strong upon him; during his more mature years, as shown by his Odes, direct Lucretian influence is for the most part absent. In the first book of the Epistles the influence of Lucretius again revives, but afterwards in the second book of the Epistles, the fourth book of the Odes, and in the *Ars Poetica*, it is practically non-existent.

The parts of Lucretius' poem that were most familiar to Horace were the several proemia, the hymn to Death, 3, 830 sq., and the social epic in 5, 782 sq., that is, the more poetical parts of the work. References to the purely didactic parts are infrequent.



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